

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CU-02 OIC-02 SAM-01 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2556

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3126

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CSCE XG GE GW WB

SUBJECT: CSCE POLICY: QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

REF: (A) GENEVA 3059; (B) GENEVA 2963; (C) GENEFA 2788

1. SUMMARY: SOVIETS SAID AT FOUR POWER HEADS OF DELEGATION LUNCH MAY 1 THEY CAN ACCEPT QUALIFYING "RESPONSIBILITIES" IN QUADRIpartite RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAYING CLAUSE WITH "UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW". THEY URGED ALLIES TO SEEK QUICK MOVEMENT BY COMBINING THIS DEMONSTRATION OF FLEXIBILITY WITH TWO STEPS INTENDED TO SHOW NEUTRALS SERIOUSNESS OF WHICH FOUR POWERS TAKE NEXT, NAMELY BROADENING OF SPONSORSHIP AND INITIATION OF JOINT FOUR POWER-NEUTRALS DISCUSSIONS. ALLIED AMBASSADORS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SIGN OF SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON DRAFT BUT
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SKEPTICISM ON EFFICACY OR POLITICAL DESIRABILITY OF

OTHER TWO STEPS. FRENCH CHOSE FOR TIME BEING NOT TO DISCLOSE TO SOVIETS FULL DEPTH OF NEUTRAL OPPOSITION TO EXISTING TEXT REVEALED AT APRIL 30 MEETING OR NEW SWISS TEXT (REF A). WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD MOVE FORWARD TOWARD AGREED TEXT IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION GROUPS AND AVOID FOR TIME BEING EITHER CO-SPONSORSHIP OR FOUR-POWER MEETINGS WITH NEUTRALS. REQUEST GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR BONN GROUP LUNCH MAY 6. END SUMMARY.

2. HEAD OF SOVIET DEL KOVALEV SAID MOSCOW AGREED THAT MINOR QUALIFICATIONS COULD BE MADE TO "RESPONSIBILITIES" TO MAKE TEXT MORE ACCEPTABLE TO NEUTRALS. OF THREE SUGGESTIONS OUTLINED AT APRIL 25 FOUR POWER DINNER (PARA 2 REF B) MOSCOW'S PREFERENCE WAS FOR "UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW". KOVALEV SAID SOVIETS THOUGHT GOOD TACTIC WOULD BE TO LINK THIS CONCILIATORY AMENDMENT WITH INCREASE OF SPONSORSHIP TO INCLUDE FOUR POWERS AND PERHAPS ONE OR MORE NEUTRALS AND JOINT FOUR POWER-NEUTRALS DISCUSSIONS IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE QUADRIPARTITE SOLIDARITY.

3. ALLIED AMBASSADORS STRESSED THAT THEY WERE THUS FAR WITHOUT REACTIONS OF CAPITALS TO APRIL 25 DISCUSSION BUT EXPRESSED CONCERN ON PERSONAL BASIS THAT NEUTRALS, WHILE WELCOMING SIGNS OF MOVEMENTS ON DRAFT TEXT, MIGHT REGARD OTHER TWO SOVIET PROPOSALS AS BIG POWER PRESSURE AND MIGHT AS A RESULT STIFFEN THEIR OWN POSITION. KOVALEV SAID HE HAD NO PARTICULAR NEUTRAL IN MIND AS COSPONSOR BUT THOUGHT AUSTRIA MIGHT BE SUITABLE SINCE IT ACKNOWLEDGES FOUR POWER ROLE IN SUPERVISION OF AUSTRIAN STATE TREATY. FRENCH AMBASSADOR ANDRE, WHO GENERALLY TOOK LEAD FOR ALLIES, DID EXPRESS SOME INTEREST IN IDEA OF BROADENING SPONSORSHIP BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY IN THAT CASE TO BRING IN TWO GERMAN STATES. HE NOTED THAT THOUGHT WAS ONLY PERSONAL, HOWEVER, WHEN SOVIETS QUICKLY SAID THEY WOULD ASK GDR TO BE COSPONSOR. BRITISH INDICATED THEY WOULD PROBABLY WISH TO ADD "OR IN CONFORMITY WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW" AFTER "UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW" TO AVOID POSSIBLE AMBIGUITY SEEN BY FCO LAWYERS OVER THOSE RIGHTS WHICH

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FOUR POWERS HAVE AS A RESULT OF MILITARY CONQUEST RATHER THAN AS RESULT OF MORE CLASSIC INTERNATIONAL LAW TECHNIQUE OF AGREEMENT. SOVIETS NONCOMMITTALLY SAID TWO PHRASES MEANT SAME THING IN RUSSIAN. ALLIED AMBASSADORS PROMISED TO BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH KOVALEV WEEK OF MAY 5 AFTER RECEIVING INSTRUCTIONS.

4. PRIOR TO LUNCH ALLIED AMBASSADORS HAD AGREED THAT

SOMEWHAT GREATER CHANGE IN TEXT THAN SIMPLE QUALIFICATION OF "RESPONSIBILITIES" WOULD PROBABLY BE REQUIRED TO OVERCOME NEUTRALS' DOUBTS. FRENCH AMBASSADOR INDICATED HE WISHED TO AVOID SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THIS WITH SOVIETS, HOWEVER, BEFORE HE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS TACTICAL APPRECIATION OF SITUATION WITH FONMIN SAUVAGNARGUES MAY 2. BRITISH FELT YUGOSLAVS WERE KEY TO NEUTRAL POSITION AND THAT THEY HAD EXPRESSED LESS ABSOLUTE OPPOSITION AT APRIL 30 MEETING TO INCLUSION IN TEXT OF "ARRANGEMENTS" AND "WHICH REFLECT THEM" THAN THEY HAD TO "RESPONSIBILITIES" AND TO "WHICH CONCERN THEM. BRITISH INDICATED THAT WHILE THEY MIGHT ULTIMATELY BE ABLE TO FALL BACK TO SHORT TEXT SUCH AS SUGGESTED BY SWISS, THEY BELIEVED IT WORTH A TRY TO SEE IF YUGOSLAVS COULD BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT SOMETHING MORE.

BRITISH ALSO EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER, IN EVENT THAT TEXT CAN NOT BE AGREED, FALLING BACK TO STATEMENT IN CONFERENCE JOURNAL BY ALLIES OR FOUR POWERS TO EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD READ FINAL CONFERENCE DOCUMENT AS IF IT INCLUDED STATEMENT ALONG LINES OF PRESENT FRENCH DRAFT QRR TEXT.

5. COMMENT: WE CONTINUE TO RATE NEUTRAL OPPOSITION TO PRESENT TEXT AS STRONG AND, ON BASIS OF APRIL 30 MEETING, BELIEVE THAT ALLIES MAY HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO FALL BACK TO OR CLOSE TO WHAT SWISS HAVE SUGGESTED. QUICK SOVIET REACTION TO APRIL 25 DISCUSSION SEEMS INDICATIVE OF REAL INTEREST IN REACHING EARLY AGREEMENT AND MAY INDICATE THERE WILL BE FURTHER GIVE IN SOVIET POSITION IF NEED CAN BE DEMONSTRATED. WE FEAR SUGGESTED SOVIET TACTIC OF BROADER COSPONSORSHIP AND FOUR POWER-NEUTRALS CONSULTATIONS, HOWEVER, WOULD RISK CONFIDENTIAL

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GETTING NEUTRAL'S BACKS UP AND BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE. ONCE TEXT IS AGREED, THERE MIGHT WELL BE VALUE IN MAKING IT QUADRIPARTITELY SPONSORED IN ORDER TO DOCUMENT WHAT ITS REAL PURPOSE IS. WE HAVE TOLD FRENCH, HOWEVER, THAT WHILE WE THINK IT WAS USEFUL TO GET STATEMENT BY FOUR POWERS PLUS TWO GERMAN STATES IN JOURNAL (REF C) IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE WHICH STATES HAVE PARTICULAR INTEREST IN SUBJECT, WE WOULD SEE POSSIBILITY OF DISADVANTAGE IN ALLOWING THE LATTER EQUAL STATUS WITH FOUR POWERS AS FORMAL COSPONSORS OF A QRR STATEMENT. WE HAVE ALSO SOUGHT TO DISCOURAGE BRITISH FROM SUGGESTING TO ANYONE AT THIS STAGE THAT ACCEPTABLE FALLBACK MIGHT BE TRIPARTITE OR QUADRIPARTITE STATEMENT IN JOURNAL, BOTH BECAUSE THAT WOULD BE RELATIVELY WEAK PROTECTION OF QRR AND BECAUSE FRG IS FIRMLY SET

AGAINST SUCH A TACTIC AS HIGHLIGHTING SPECIAL GERMAN
PROBLEM TOO EXPLICITLY.

6. WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING DEPARTMENT REACTION AND
GUIDANCE, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE BONN GROUP LUNCH ON MAY 6. DALE

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